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ABSTRACT

Five papers summarizing presentations made at the Fourth Annual Early Childhood Education Conference are included in this report. The first presentation, by Evangeline Ward, discusses cooperation, collaboration, change, and advocacy in the context of early childhood education. In the second presentation, Irving Lazar identifies social trends likely to affect early childhood education and discusses research findings supporting early educational intervention. The question of how learning experiences for young children can be organized to provide continuity is discussed by Jenni W. Klein in the third presentation. The fourth presentation, by Lilian Katz, analyzes parenting and teaching in terms of seven role dimensions in order to identify significant differences between the roles of parents and teachers. The fifth and final presentation, by Burton White, argues that the role of the family in the education of a young child, particularly during the first years of life, should be given the highest priority in forming national educational policy. A brief conference overview reflecting controversies emerging in the course of discussions is included at the end of the report. (RH)

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WORKING TOGETHER FOR YOUNG CHILDREN:

Implementing the Extended Elementary Education Program

November 18 & 19, 1981

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Fourth Annual Early Childhood Education Conference

Early Childhood Education Branch
Division of Compensatory, Urban, and Supplementary Programs
Maryland State Department of Education

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Information for this publication was taken from published articles, tapes, and recorders' notes of the presentations.

Special thanks is also extended to the staffs representing Maryland's colleges and universities who assisted with specific conference activities. And, finally, thanks to the many early childhood educators representing the 24 local education agencies in Maryland.

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FOREWORD

In a large part learning results from real experiences that cannot be provided by the school alone.

It is important that individual roles and responsibilities are better understood, that educators know what they do well and what others can do better--not neglecting their responsibility, but sharing the responsibility. Educators must provide leadership, involve the wider community, reach out to parents, agencies and institutions; thus, our conference theme: WORKING TOGETHER FOR YOUNG CHILDREN: HOME, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY.

INTRODUCTION

Five nationally known consultants in the field of Early Childhood Education provided leadership for the Fourth Early Childhood Conference sponsored by the Early Childhood Education Branch, Division of Compensatory, Urban, and Supplementary Programs.

Consultants were selected based on their expertise in areas specifically related to the components of the Extended Elementary Education Program, as well as their comprehensive knowledge of Early Childhood Education.

The Extended Elementary Education Program utilizes an approach which encourages and assists staffs with organizing their schools in ways that will enable them to work effectively with children, parents, and community persons. It functions on the premise that the home, school, and community are interrelated systems for learning.

Special emphases of the program, as addressed by the consultants, were:

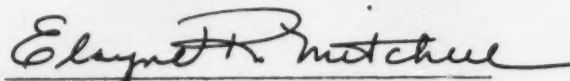
- I. Parenting and the Early Years, which focused on the parenting aspect of the Extended Elementary Education Program. Key elements of the sessions were
 - The years before formal school
 - Building on the early years
 - The importance of the early years
- II. Cooperating on Behalf of Children. The emphasis of this session was the interagency aspect of the Extended Elementary Education Program. Key elements were
 - Identifying agencies that impact on children
 - Support systems for families
 - Recognizing and meeting needs
- III. Organizing for Continuity of Learning Experiences for Young Children and the Early Childhood Continuum. These two sessions focused on the curriculum aspect of the Extended Elementary Education Program. Key elements were
 - Articulation between children, parents, and staff
 - Providing a coordinated instructional program
 - Providing staff development for competency-based education
 - Teacher communication network
 - Combining a variety of teaching strategies and styles

IV. Integrating the Child's Environment. This session utilized as its focus the articulation component of the Extended Elementary Education Program. Key elements were

- The impact of research on educational practices
- Application of research results: Home, school, and community
- Identifying positive elements in the environment

Permeating the conference also was research data which substantiated "The Success of Preschool Education."

Consistent with the goal of the Extended Elementary Education Program, the focus of the conference was on improving learning for children by bringing together Early Childhood Education staffs from the 24 local education agencies and addressing those areas of the Extended Elementary Education Program in ways that would assist them in moving ahead to refine these programs.


Elayne R. Mitchell

COOPERATING ON BEHALF OF YOUNG CHILDREN

Dr. Evangeline Ward
Professor, Early Childhood-Elementary Education
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Cooperating on behalf of young children can be viewed in Janus-like fashion: looking backward at the negatives still to be overcome on behalf of young children, or looking presently at the state of the art in Maryland, or looking ahead to what can happen as we explore what all this "togetherness" suggests for the years between now and the next century. It is clear from the mandate for this conference that cooperating on behalf of young children is serious business and that all of us here believe in it. Or do we? You and I might ask: Why cooperate? Cooperate in what ways? Cooperate around what aspect of the lives of children? How? Why? What form should my cooperation take? I have unique skills and abilities. Why can I not use mine and let other professionals use theirs? Why utilize the energies and time involved in cooperating with others? Would they not be better spent in continuing to do my job well? I find it helpful to check out varying means by which people define such terms as cooperation. I also find it useful to look at oppositional terms. A further way of grappling with such a concept is to search for related ideas which reinforce and add to understanding.

What, then, does it mean to cooperate? Rutherford and Egar define the basic ingredient of cooperation as mutual trust. This leaves me to pursue their notion further--since if I am going to build mutual trust in another agency, discipline, or profession, it would require, by my definition, a continuous intimate relationship with that agency. Mutual trust among agencies must be built--just as it must with adults who work with children and between parents and children. Following my continued concern with clarity in this concept of cooperation, I found the authors proceeded to elaborate; they stated that cooperation, as a process, involves setting goals, finding solutions, implementing and evaluating them as well as trust... (the belief that they should work together) and a set of behaviors (communication, negotiation, and sharing). A simple definition of a very complex task. Cooperating on behalf of young children is a necessity (if for no other reason than to save our jobs!).

Maryland obviously does have a state policy in regard to children. I say this because anytime the state legislature provides monies, you have a policy. Policy, of course, does not matter unless you have something to back it up. In that regard, Maryland is to be commended. You have money and a priority program that has as one of its components interagency cooperation; thus

the necessity to think about meaningfully cooperating on behalf of young children. Be aware of the fact that if what we do now is not effective for our young children, in a few years we are going to be in real trouble. The implications are for joint operations and collective actions. Admittedly, these do require hard work, careful planning, and specific skills.

I wish to interject a word--a concept--which suggests as much hard work, careful planning and skill and involves goal setting, solution finding, implementation and evaluation, as well as communication, negotiation, and sharing. Yet, having participated in the positive results of this process, let me recommend it for your thought and examination during this seminar. The concept to which I refer is known as collaboration. Maybe even more than cooperation, what Maryland needs--what the country needs--and what is increasingly apparent in my work with OMEP, the World Organization for Early Childhood Education, is to develop the fine art of collaboration. You see, cooperation may be a much more superficial way to handle the deep concerns of all of us to protect and educate our young. It is so much easier to prove cooperation. I sent my course syllabus to the new professor at the nearby community college. I shared my favorite new children's book title with someone I met at last year's conference. I offered the supervisor a ride home. None of these are unimportant--they do indicate how I might be viewed as cooperative. No collaboration has ensued, however.

My introduction to collaboration came as a member of a very distinguished group comprised as "The Black Advisory Task Force to the CDA Consortium"--historically established to assist with the development of what became the Child Development Associate Assessment and Credentialing System. This group rejected an atomistic approach to any human evaluation system--acknowledging the gestalt of human growth, learning and development, and full participation as a means to maximizing all the skills and abilities necessary to do the job. It was an incredible experience, some of which I now share in this context for its value here as we think together on: Cooperating on Behalf of Young Children.

"When we speak of collaboration, we refer to a collective enterprise of shared planning, implementation, review, and judgment... Collaborative teams are much more accountable for their interpretations and judgments because of the deeper knowledge they have."

Collaborating suggests, their report states, opportunities to share the perspectives of those competent to contribute positively to the young child. It recommends bringing together the separate strengths into a mutual relationship which supports the whole of the common enterprise. Collaboration does not mean we have to entrench ourselves into the accumulated wisdom, experiences and knowledge of the other individual, agency, or organization.

A very critical concern as you begin to think about the possibility of collaborating with someone else is: knowledge of your job, the uniqueness of what you do, and your particular organization. The first order of business if you want to collaborate with someone else is: Do you know your own turf, your limitations, your strengths? What is it that you have to offer that will allow someone to join hands with you? Not just because you think young children are important--most everyone does--like motherhood and apple pie. Many of us are unable to articulate the uniqueness of our circumstances. Perhaps if we cannot tell people exactly what we do in our jobs, then maybe we should not get paid to do them. We need a concept of why our jobs are significant. Why would anyone want to cooperate or collaborate with someone who does not know exactly what they have to offer?

The day of platitudes is gone. We now need to justify our reasons for existing in terms of the world of work that we believe is so important. We have an obligation to be able to explain to families of children we serve what goes on wherever the children are. Example: Why do we have water play? What is it all about? We need to be able to explain distinctly in highly scientific educational jargon. Children must learn to manage the stuff of the universe, some of which is liquid, some of which is solid and granular like sand, some of which is solid and squeezy like salt and flour dough. Kids have to learn stuff of the universe like liquid. Water is a liquid. You are teaching science.

There are too many things in our programs that we cannot explain; yet we want everyone to understand. Some people have been in jobs for years, but are unable to articulate what they are doing. Be aware of the difference between how to do a job and why you are doing a particular job. Be explicit about the difference your job makes in anybody's life. If you are unable to do this, why should anyone want to cooperate with you? Why should they? If you don't know, please find out. Be specific about the contribution you can make to the team on behalf of children and families. Know what unique and specific skills you have to offer. You bring your skills, others bring theirs, and together you will be able to make genuine contributions for the children and families you serve.

All organizations and institutions are primary in the lives of children and families. As a result, we have little choice but to join hands, if we are really concerned about the lives of children and families. Have pride in what you do and the uniqueness of your contribution. There should be no debate about which organizations are most important. Specific programs or services must be viewed in terms of their contribution to the children's "enduring environment," a Urie Bronfenbrenner term, that he explains in terms of two concentric layers--(1) immediate setting--home, family, center, neighborhood, (2) supporting and surrounding layer: all social systems which impact on children and families are contained

in this second layer. The environment of children is strongly reflected from this outer layer. Let us allow each person to handle his own responsibilities but draw from each other in a collaborative effort on behalf of children. Ways must be found to reach across the layers from support groups to the immediate family. Collaboration requires the ability to change.

The following twelve statements indicate factors that support change.

Change, Is It Possible?

1. Persons tend to change when they have participated in the decision to change.
2. Persons tend to change when the rewards for change exceed the pain of change.
3. Persons tend to change when they see others changing, particularly when the change direction is supported by valued persons.
4. Persons tend to change more readily in an environment free from threat and judgment.
5. Persons tend to change more readily when they have the competencies, knowledge or skills required by the change.
6. Persons tend to change to the degree that they trust the motives of the person or persons attempting to induce change.
7. Persons tend to change more readily if they are able to influence reciprocally the person or persons who are attempting to influence them.
8. Persons tend to change to the degree that they see the change has been successful, especially if they are able to gather data for themselves.
9. Persons tend to change more often in a series of small steps, rather than as a total change in their way of life.
10. Persons tend to maintain change as the change is supported by their environment.
11. Persons tend to maintain change if there is a public commitment to the change.
12. Persons tend to resist change to the degree that it is imposed upon them, or that they feel that it is imposed upon them.

Anonymous

The statements stress that change will be made when individuals are informed and involved and the change required is gradual.

Before concluding this session, I must briefly mention another significant concept germane to cooperating on behalf of children: that of advocacy. It is popular to throw this notion of advocacy around these days--everybody is advocating for everything in the face of real Reaganfear--fear that he may discover too late how wrong some of his positions are for people--that is, real people, who are most of the people in the United States. So we all want to advocate; in this audience, it is unpopular to advocate against children; occasionally we also advocate for families whose children we see regularly in our early education programs. Let's take a look at advocacy: Biklen (1976) refers to advocacy as an independent movement of consumers. He notes that advocacy stresses public accountability in the delivery of services. Milton Senn, in Speaking Out for America's Children, states that an advocate is one who actively works to support the rights or needs of another person (child or adult).

We must work to assist and support children, families, and their rights. We cannot let them wait. We must provide for the children today. A statement from Jesse Jackson, "We must accept the challenge to save our children."

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New York, 1972.

INTEGRATE THE CHILD'S ENVIRONMENT

EDUCATION'S TOMORROW: A FORECAST

Dr. Irving Lazar
College of Human Ecology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dr. Lazar approaches the integration of the child's environment from the general standpoint of coordination of professional services and specifically through the integration of the educational environment. He expressed what he saw as happening now and what his predictions were for the future.

Professional services are broken up and/or divided into segments. The reason for this is primarily the preservation of professional "turf." Services have been defined and isolated by specific professions. However, the needs of families don't always work in isolation that way. For example, all professionals in schools need to be a teacher first--school psychologists need to be a teacher first--school social workers need to have been teachers. We really can't afford to maintain this self-protective isolation. Too much money is being spent on the administrative overhead that this system demands. We need a massive reorganization of our service delivery system. The effectiveness of a given service often depends upon the presence or absence of other services. It is time that we started running the camps for the campers instead of the counselors.

There have been attempts to unify family services. The purpose of HEW was the coordination of agency functions. There are "umbrella" agencies in the community, like the United Way. It has even been mandated by law (Title XX). Even the Department of Social Services has attempted it. None of the above have been terribly successful.

However, a few successful models have been established. A few years ago I was involved in a service delivery system in Nevada. A few members of a team traveled from town to town. Each member was able to do every other member's primary function. For example, doctors were able to do the social worker's duties, nurses were able to do the psychologist's tasks. Team members were trained by each other so that whatever was needed by the residents was provided. Another example of matching services to needs is in Louisville, Kentucky. Here a computer list was available which public agencies, a family, or client could utilize, thus was created a system of services which deals with the whole family, not just an individual. At Cornell University, all of the human services students are trained in a basic core of classes where they learn about each other's professions and "lingo."

The time has come when we may not have a choice. We may be forced to organize a system for the daytime care of children. You know that children have never been worth much in our society when it comes to financial investment. Property has traditionally been considered more important than life. There have been attempts to standardize education; i.e., to place public schools in the industrial model.

Education will change drastically within twenty years. The school, as an institution, will disappear. The public investment in children will focus on the development of a humane comprehensive system of child care primarily because the present system is falling into financial difficulty. Secondly, the majority of women will be working. The current supply of day care will be used up. As a result the working woman will demand a system of public responsibility for the care of her children. What has so far occurred for the poor only, will be demanded by all. The question is: will we have a warehouse or will we provide an opportunity for the optimal development of potential?

Microprocessors will radically change the way we teach. Middle class children will learn how to read, write, and do math before they come to school, and this will create problems. The gap between poor and middle class kids will be widened. The need for preschool will be greater. The role of the teacher will change because the computer can teach basic skills more effectively than the classroom teacher. Microprocessors provide individualized instruction. Thus, teachers will be concerned with helping children to socialize and to think; i.e., understand facts, comprehend, and debate. They will teach the values and meanings of history. Teachers will not need a college degree. The people with degrees will be administrators and designers of programs. An example can be found in Singapore. Education is important in that society. The teacher's job is to emphasize the joy of learning. Each young person must serve two years of public service. Much of this service is tutoring young children. Everyone is involved in the learning process.

Parents as educators will be an integral part of the new educational system. We know now that parental involvement is a sure prediction of later academic success. Lay people can do it! For one thing, homework serves as a basic parent involver. Pre-school educators have traditionally been promoters of parent interaction with the school--other colleagues are not so positively inclined.

I think that the public school, as we now know it, will become extinct. I foresee a future in which we have a universally available system of child care, beginning with infants, and a time when the formal learning of the three R's and of most factual material will take place as an interaction between the child and a computer--and probably in his or her own home. I see the new system of child care as providing the base for an integrated system of

services built around the family, rather than the individual as the unit of service, and see the emergence of a new kind of professional--a person whose skills are now divided up among the education, social work, and health professions. Let me describe the sources of this vision--or, if you choose--hallucination.

It is clear that the majority of mothers now working outside the home will continue to grow, and will soon exhaust the available supply of affordable private care of children. The new generation of mothers who have careers will include the majority of the middle class in our country--and the middle class know how to make their demands known and their needs met. I think we will see, not only a universal system for day care, but one which provides comprehensive services for children and families. The middle class will demand quality care and will get it. Such a system will provide health and nutrition service, counseling and parent education, emergency assistance, and educational programs.

With microprocessors providing basic education, the teaching role will focus on the development of socialization, the meaning and implications of the information children acquire, esthetics, communication and the special needs of unusual children.

With the increasing number of women having children past their thirtieth birthday, the percentage of handicapped children in our society will increase. With the virtual abolition of public support for abortion, the number of unwanted children will increase. There is hardly anything more likely to produce later personality disturbance than early parental rejection.

These two populations of damaged children will require greater efforts--and more skill--than we have been willing to provide in the past.

As schools become replaced with comprehensive child care and family service centers, we will, I think, begin finally to unsnarl the tangle of fragmented and overlapping services which we inherited from the nineteenth century. We all recognize the need to integrate our service system and our failures to achieve such integration in the past. It is probably unrealistic to aspire to have the carnivorous animal we call humans give up their territorial instincts. While we can't abolish the need for and protection of turf, we can re-define turf in ways that improve services rather than segment them into artificially defined pieces.

A comprehensive service for families replaces such categories as education and social services, health and mental health, with a concern for the internal structure of family life and with the ways in which the conditions of life affect individual behavior. The computer-based teaching machine, by providing true individual instruction at the child's own pace, provides us with a way to truly individualize education, and eliminates our wasteful and

counterproductive efforts to find the ideal curriculum for all, the ideal desk, classroom, and lighting system.

Whether this future becomes a boon for education--or portends its death knell--depends, I think on whether educators take leadership in its development or try to defend our present system "to the death." If we take leadership, and I don't mean trying to co-opt the other human services, we will win. If we try to remain apart, to maintain a monopoly on educating children, try to fight the new technologies, we will, I feel, lose.

Our opportunities for change are here. The virtual abandonment of human concerns by the federal government gives states the freedom to build new systems of service. The virtual demolition of our national support system means that we will have a chance to redesign our national programs. Our choices now will define our futures.

EVIDENCE FOR EARLY EDUCATION

(Taken from the article, "Invest Early for Later Dividends," pp 12-13 and 28, Compact, Fall 1979.

In 1975, concerned about attacks on Head Start and the effectiveness of early intervention, 12 investigators who had independently conducted experimental preschool studies agreed to pool their research efforts.¹ Their model infant and preschool programs dated from the early and mid-1960s for the most part; consequently, the original participants (now ages 10-19) were well along in their school careers. It was a unique opportunity to assess the long-range effects of preschool programs for children from low-income families. Calling themselves the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, they agreed to attempt to re-establish contact with the original participants for tests and interviews. All data would be analyzed by a neutral party who had not managed such a program.²

Let me present the results of this unique collaborative effort in the form of questions directed to me over the past year by public officials and educators.

1. Is there any evidence of long-term education benefits of preschool?

Yes, definitely. The longitudinal study permitted examination of children's actual school performances as opposed to scores on standardized tests or predictors of school performance, such as IQ scores. Specifically, we looked at children's progress through school: did they stay "on grade" with age mates or had they fallen behind by being assigned to special remedial classes or by being retained in grade (grade failure)?

We found that children who had school experiences were significantly less likely to be assigned to special classes or retained in grade, compared to control children. Furthermore, on fourth-grade standardized achievement tests, preschool completors scored significantly higher than control children on mathematics achievement and tended to rate higher on reading as well. It is important to emphasize the strength of these findings. Four of the

investigators used an experimental research design, randomly assigning children to either preschool or control group status. The essential feature of such a design, of course, is that the preschool and control groups are equivalent on everything except the treatment itself; in this case, the preschool experience. For those subjects, we can state with a good deal of confidence that the preschool experience caused the later school performance differences between experiment and control children.

2. Can preschools help save tax dollars?

Economists conducted a cost-benefit analysis of the Perry Preschool in Ypsilanti, Michigan, a Consortium member project and fairly representative in terms of costs and outcomes.³ The benefits of the program--measured in reduced need for high-cost special education services and in increased projected lifetime earnings for the children--outweighed the costs by 236 percent. In other words, the children cost less to educate and will produce more for themselves and society.

3. Are there specific program models that states should implement?

The preschool programs directed by members of the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies were quite varied in their approaches. One program began when children were 3 months old; others when children were 2, 3 or 4 years old. Some programs focused exclusively on visits to the children's homes; some combined home visits with daily group sessions in a preschool center; others focused on the group program with no home visits. Some curricula were tightly structured and focused only on school-readiness skills; others emphasized a "discovery" approach and attempted to influence children's motivation and self-concepts as well as their cognitive development. With so much diversity among the programs, we expected to analyze data and be able to specify which program dimensions were superior. To date, however, we have failed to identify any dimensions of preschool that were more effective than others. Apparently, all these programs were equally able to help poor children avoid special remedial education placement.

It behooves us, then, to consider what all these successful programs had in common. All had low child-to-adult ratios--on the average, five children per adult (this included para-professionals with training in early childhood education. The staff members received regular inservice training. They had access to supervisors who both monitored their work and provided support for their efforts. A carefully specified curriculum provided the teaching staff with guidelines on how to arrange time blocks and which activities to emphasize. In other words, a particular curriculum per se does not appear to be crucial but it is probably very important to adequately train and support the teaching staff.

Let me say a word about involving parents in these programs. Our data were not suitable for addressing this issue, but others have demonstrated the feasibility and importance of involving parents in preschoolers' education. Despite their socioeconomic status, these parents generally have high aspirations for their children and recognize the role education can play in their children's futures. Involving parents in the actual process of teaching their children can build on those attitudes, reinforcing them and providing parents with concrete skills for achieving their aims. Additionally, congruence between the home and school settings should help the children by reinforcing their school experiences and supporting their motivation.

4. How should preschools articulate with other educational programs?

Of course, savings in remedial education--and an increased probability of better life-chances for poor children--are not the only reasons to invest in early education. One of the outstanding demographic trends of our time is that over half the mothers of young children are now in the labor force. This, coupled with the evidence of preschool effectiveness, suggests that we should consider seriously funding alternatives that will meet both needs: preschool experiences and quality day care.

As for articulating preschool with elementary school, a mechanism already exists in the form of vacant space in school buildings constructed at the height of the baby boom. Some schools are already renting or donating empty classrooms to other community institutions for use as preschool and day-care facilities. Besides making good use of expensive space, such collaboration has the potential to mesh children's early experiences with later school programs and perhaps improve public appreciation of the schools.

It is time to think creatively about how to meet the needs of young children, especially those from our most needy families. Preschool is no panacea, but neither is it merely "throwing money at a problem." Investment in preschool pays. In these inflationary times, it even can be considered a bargain.

¹They include: E. Kuno Beller, Temple University; Martin and Cynthia Deutsch, New York University; Susan Gray, George Peabody College; Ira Gordon (deceased September 1978), University of Florida; Merle Karnes, University of Illinois; Louise Miller, University of Louisville; Francis Palmer, Merrill-Palmer Institute; David Weikart, High/Scope Foundation; Phyllis Levenstein, Verbal Interaction Project; Myron Woolman, Institute for Educational Research; and Edward Zigler, Yale University.

²Dr. Irving Lazar of Cornell University, joined in 1977 by Dr. Richard Darlington, also of Cornell University.

³See Weber, Foster & Weikart. An economic analysis of the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project. Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, No. 5, 1978.

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"Long Range Planning and Needs Assessment in Early Childhood Programs"--Speech: Education Commission of the States - Albuquerque, Atlanta, Philadelphia.

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"Care and Education of Young Children in America," Ron Haskins and James J. Gallagher, Editors. Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood, New Jersey.

"Lasting Effects of Early Education: The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies," with Richard B. Darlington, Jacqueline Royce, Harry Murray, and Ann Snipper. Submitted to Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development. In Press.

ORGANIZING FOR CONTINUITY OF LEARNING EXPERIENCES FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

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Pretend you have two five year olds and two six year olds. Think about their looks. Can you tell which children are five and which are six by looking at them? No. Even by asking them questions, you cannot tell their ages.

Then, if we would ask the children some questions again and we had chosen the children carefully, it may be that we would indeed have difficulty in identifying the five year olds or the six year olds.

Perhaps I am overstating to make my point--i.e., that children are unique and grow at different rates. The real point I want to make is that growth and development are continuous.

In many schools, however, children entering first grade find that their kindergarten experience has not really prepared them for this next step--and that there is no real continuity between what happened before and what is "now."

I really do not have the answers, and I cannot really give you specific ways of doing it the "right way." I am positive though that first grade teachers and kindergarten teachers must work together.

It makes sense.

Discontinuity of teaching--if you will--occurs despite the fact that it is generally agreed that growth and learning occur as gradual and continuous processes. Although we commonly speak of stages of growth as identifiable plateaus along the course of growth and learning, actual transitions from state to stage are usually imperceptible. It follows that development and learning are enhanced when the sequences of experiences provided for children take into full account the continual and gradual flow of growth processes.

Most educators are in accord with this assumption about learning. They tend to believe that the transition which children make from one education level to another should be as smooth as possible and in harmony with the way children develop and learn. In actual practice, however, little has been done to insure a smooth transition. Young children entering public school for the first time often find that their previous experiences bear little resemblance to what they now encounter.

We can understand and even accept that, but is the transition from kindergarten a smooth one? Does it make sense to the child? Is his first grade program based on his kindergarten experience?

Do we provide continuity? Is each grade an island to itself? Do we treat the child as if there was nothing before he/she came to our class and nothing will occur later?

If a great deal of discontinuity exists, it seems reasonable to assume that learning and growth may be inhibited and that too much discontinuity may have an adverse effect on the child's development.

We all know that discontinuities exist between grades--but especially between kindergarten and first grade. Why is this so? Especially when it is likely that the younger the child, the more vulnerable he is and more affected by discontinuities.

The reason is likely to be historical. Goals for kindergarten and primary school have historically been different. Traditionally, kindergarten has placed emphasis on the total child, the family, and community. First grade is often regarded as "real school"--charged with cognitive achievement and teaching the "3 Rs." (Children learn in both.)

Discontinuity in school experiences can be seen in many situations. Changes or reversals in adults' expectations of children are common. In kindergarten the adults may expect and reward children's cooperative work; in first grade adults may expect independent work and discourage or even punish cooperation. In kindergarten the children are often encouraged to explore and move freely within the total environment. Attitudes and behaviors that are valued by kindergarten teachers often incur disapproval from first grade teachers. In some schools the child who has previously learned to ask questions, to use adults as resources, to think for himself--simply creates problems for himself and his teacher. His uninhibited use of conversation, his eagerness to share his discoveries or concerns (traits perhaps encouraged in other settings) may cause him to be labeled as a "trouble-maker." Thus, we find that kindergarten and first grade teachers often have different long-range goals regarding what children should learn and what learning is. They also frequently have different goals for the kinds of adults they want the children to become. They often see quite different competencies as essential to growth. Additionally, they often have different timetables for achieving their goals, see their responsibility in different contexts, and may have different philosophies about how children learn.

What I am saying is that the settings in which children learn, the school they attend, may impose different expectations for behavior, skills, and competencies as well as different attitudes, pace, and motives for learning. Again, for example, a kindergarten may foster a curious and inquiring attitude which may be inhibited in first grade. Scheduling may be flexible in kindergarten but more rigid in first grade.

Furthermore, teachers themselves define their own roles differently in different settings. The kindergarten teacher may define her role as somewhat maternal, or as a facilitator of learning, while many first grade teachers may define their roles as instructors and trainers in the three "R" skills. Children learn in both settings.

May I suggest that we seek and explore ways in which schools can provide continuity, thereby enabling adults to meet each child where he is: building on past experiences, meeting present needs and interests and providing for the future; promoting continuous growth; and decreasing a child's need to unlearn past learnings in order to succeed in new situations.

Continuity in education experiences should help children understand their environments, develop self-awareness and the ability to comprehend relationships, and solve problems. Continuity need not be construed as sameness. Programs which foster continual development may, at the same time, provide experiences for children which teach them coping mechanisms to deal with the inevitable discontinuities that children must face in growing up.

Hunt's concept of "the match" fits well into this idea; in fact, he predicts the ill effects of discontinuous educational experiences. He states that "when incoming information is too similar or congruous to that which the child already has, he becomes bored and may fail to respond. When the information is too dissimilar or incongruous the child is threatened and confused and he tunes it out." This suggests that great care should be taken to plan and coordinate children's learning experiences so that they are maximally intersected and minimally disjointed.

What can be done? It is always easier to talk about it than to do it. A large portion of the task could probably be accomplished if two problems were resolved:

1. Lack of communication and cooperation across education levels
2. Lack of viewing the child in terms of his total development; i.e., continuity

Communication and cooperation across grade levels are based on contact, information, observation, and planning. Administrators must agree and be involved.

What tends to be lacking is a basic understanding of the other person's point of view. Kindergarten teachers often think that primary teachers are concerned only with teaching children to read. Primary teachers frequently think that kindergarten teachers are concerned primarily with play and social adjustment. There are many reasons for this lack of communication. Teachers at all levels

have often learned pragmatically what they feel is right and good, but are unable to clearly articulate why they are doing what; thus communication and sharing become difficult tasks.

Time and space make it difficult for people--parents, teachers, administrators--to coordinate their knowledge about a child, and then communicate it to others. Achieving useful communication requires considerable coordination.

There is enough blame to go around. Many educational institutions have done a poor job of communicating their goals and objectives to the public whom they serve. Narrow view of school has led to isolation and gaps in communication. Therefore, increasing communication and cooperation among parents, teachers, and administrators should promote continuity in children's experiences.

The second problem is at least partially related to the first and involves a lack of understanding of basic principles of child growth and development on the part of a large number of teachers.

A view of the child who is similar to other children in many different ways, but uniquely different in others--a view of the child as a distinct individual who is in the process of becoming, as one who is sensitive and very impressionable--will help.

As I see it, there are several areas in which it is possible for schools to consider providing continuity. The first is probably the most important and perhaps the most difficult to achieve, that is, continuity in educational philosophy, agreement on long-range goals and basic philosophy of learning and teaching. While some minor variation in goals may reasonably be expected among teachers who deal with children of different ages, more similarities than differences should exist if all have as the primary goal meeting the needs of individual children.

Some areas of consideration are:

1. Administrative Continuity: providing a single administration and/or governing board who is responsible for operating both preschools and primary schools.
2. Physical Site Continuity: children attend preschool and primary school in the same building.
3. Staff Continuity: staff members, whether teachers or aides, follow the children for specified periods of time--knowing what is happening in earlier grades--same grade--next grade.
4. Parent Involvement: parents involved in classroom activities and program planning in both preschool and primary school--to carry over into the home.

5. Curriculum Continuity: a sequential curriculum which begins in preschool and continues in primary school.
6. Supportive Services: medical, psychological, nutrition and other services which begin in preschool and follow the child.
7. Program Continuity: with special reference to the program provisions for handicapped children, for bilingual-bicultural children.

Children grow and learn continuously. It is our responsibility to provide them with information and support that facilitates their developmental continuity. It makes sense that each teacher:

1. Teaches the child now
2. Bases the teaching on what happened before
3. Is reasonably informed about what will happen later on the next year

Developmental continuity makes sense, but it takes a great deal of effort, time, planning, and cooperation among teachers, administrators, and parents.

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PARENTING AND TEACHING: SOME SIGNIFICANT DISTINCTIONS

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I see and hear increasing pressure on parents to be teachers of their children. There are slogans like "Parents are their child's best teacher" and "Parents are the child's first teacher." I have heard Dr. White use those expressions, and I want to disagree. Parents are the child's best parents. Parents are the child's first parents--not teacher. I want to clarify what I think the distinctions are. On the other hand, there is a lot of pressure on teachers, especially those who work with younger children.

I teach a class in Freeport, Illinois, which consists of 20 teachers, and what I'm learning from these teachers is that it's not just the younger children, it's even older children up through age 10, about whom these teachers feel--if only mothers or parents would do what they are supposed to do, I could teach their children. So, in a sense, what we have is two very conflicting kinds of pressures, both placed on people, but also felt internally. One is the pressure on parents to do more teaching, to prepare their children for school, to start them early with things that are called teaching. The other is the pressure that is put on teachers and also felt by teachers to make up for what they think is missing. Both of those trends are headlong into each other; they are both wrong; they lead to what I call recrimination; and the chances of mutually supportive behavior, which is what we want, is very small.

I decided then to take a look at what the two distinctive roles are about and ways in which I think we can interact more effectively with parents and vice versa. It is likely that teachers and parents engage in many of the same behaviors. However, this morning I want to look at seven dimensions upon which you can see distinctions. Although the dimensions on which the two role-takers are distinguished interact with each other, they are enumerated separately in order to highlight potential problems arising from confusion between the two roles.

ROLE DIMENSIONS	PARENTING (Parent)	TEACHING (Teachers)
1. Scope of Functions	Diffuse & Limitless	Specific & Limited
2. Intensity of Affect	High	Low
3. Attachment	Optimum Attachment	Optimum Detachment
4. Rationality	Optimum Irrationality	Optimum Rationality
5. Spontaneity	Optimum Spontaneity	Optimum Intentionality
6. Partiality	Partial	Impartial
7. Scope of Responsibility	Individual	Whole Group

Distinctions Between Parenting and Teaching in their Central Tendencies on Seven Dimensions

Scope of Functions

In a discussion of some of the discontinuities between families and schools, Getzels (1974) points out that the two institutions are discontinuous in at least two ways, namely the scope and the affectivity characterizing the relationships in the two settings.

Under the rubric of scope, Getzels points out that the functions to be fulfilled by the family are diffuse and limitless, in contradistinction to those of the school, which are specific and limited. The all-encompassing scope of the responsibilities, duties and potential content of the relationships within families is "taken for granted." There is, according to Getzels, nothing about the young child that is not the parents' business. Thus it is unnecessary to prove that any aspect of the child's life is within the purview of the family.

However, in the case of the school, relationships between teachers and children are specific in scope, function, and content in that the legitimate area of interaction "is limited to a particular technically-defined sphere, and what is not conceded to the school because of its special competence remains the private affair of the participants" (Getzels, 1974, p. 48).

Similarly, the Newsons (Newson and Newson, 1976) point out that the responsibility society "enjoins on parents to their young children is quite different from that which it expects from teachers, nurses, and other professionals...for one thing it has no fixed hours...parents of preschool children never go off duty..." (p. 400).

The distinctions in scope of functions proposed by Getzels and the Newsons appear to become greater and sharper with increasing age of the pupil. To teachers of preschool and primary children, the distinctions are problematic precisely because of the age of

the child: the younger the child, the wider the range of functioning for which adults must assume responsibility. Thus age and the level of maturity associated with it, in and of themselves, give rise to confusion between the two roles. To expect day care, preschool and primary school teachers to accept as wide a scope of functions as mothers do serves to exacerbate the long-standing problems of unclear role boundaries.

Getzels' formulation of the discontinuities between families and schools also raises the question, "What is the nature of the 'technically-defined sphere,' 'special competence' or non-maternal functions of the teacher in day care, preschool and kindergarten classes?" In the case of the elementary school teacher, the technical and specific competence resides in managing of instruction in specific academic skills and content and in fostering the life of the instructional-unit group. Indeed, departmentalization of schooling increases with the grade level, reflecting increasing specialization of teachers and their responsibilities. In day care and preschool education, specific competencies related to instruction are typically eschewed. Furthermore, the success of the parent cooperative nursery schools and preschool playgroups (in North America, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand), operated by untrained and volunteer mothers, casts some doubt upon the necessity for specific technical competencies for teachers of young children (see Haystead et al. 1980, Ch. 5). In addition, the frequent assertion that "children learn through play" adds to the difficulties of defining just what special skills early childhood educators do and should have. As long as only the "insiders" understand and/or recognize the special functions and competencies required of teachers of young children, and as long as the unique attributes of mothers in relation to their children are underappreciated by teachers, effective collaboration between the two groups of role-takers will be difficult to achieve and maintain.

Intensity of Affect

It seems reasonable to assume that both the intensity of affect (of all kinds) and the frequency with which behavior is marked by intense affect would also distinguish the two sets of role-takers. That is to say that on the average, when the central tendencies of mothers are compared to those of teachers, we should find more frequent and greater affective intensity in the behavior of mothers than of teachers. As Rubenstein and Howes have pointed out, the role of day care teachers is "both more specified and limited than the role of mother at home...the mother's emotional investment may enhance the likelihood of high-intensity affective responses" (Rubenstein and Howes, 1979, p. 3). The Newsons address this dimension by calling it "involvement" and point out that "parents' deep involvement with their own children is precisely the quality which makes parents different from other more 'professional' caretakers"

(Newson and Newson, 1976, p. 371). They point out also that the parent-child relationship often becomes "violent and stormy because it is so deep." On the other hand, the teacher-child relationship is "less intimate, more formal and much less permanent":

...A good parent-child relationship is in fact very unlike a good teacher-child relationship; yet because the roles have certain ingredients in common, though in different proportions (nurturance, discipline, information-giving, for example), they are sometimes confused by the participants themselves, to the misunderstanding of all concerned...(p. 401-402, italics theirs)

Pressure on parents to take on more instructional-type functions can lead to a variety of difficulties, one of which is exemplified in the case of a mother of a child with so-called learning disabilities. The mother reported that she and her child were enrolled in a special "home intervention" program designed to teach mothers to give their "learning disabled" children regular rigorous instruction and skill training at home. Although unintended by the program leaders, the mother reported that she became so anxious about being able to get her son to meet the specified learning objectives set for them both that their relationship deteriorated. With each lesson in which he fell behind, she became disappointed and tense, and the child became nervous and recalcitrant, which increased her own disappointment and tension, and so forth until, as she reported, she realized "the boy had no mother." She stopped the lessons and asked the professionals to continue to teach him while she supported his struggle to learn by being the soft, understanding, and relatively non-demanding adult in his life. In some ways her story reminds us of common problems encountered when trying to teach a close friend or relative to drive a car. We become aware of how much easier it is to be patient and understanding of a stranger than of someone close to us. Very often the stress encountered in trying to teach someone close to us places heavy burdens on the relationship.

In sum, one would expect the average level of affective intensity of the two role-takers to be distinguished from each other. The affectivity dimension is closely related to the attachment dimension.

Attachment

Although the term attachment is widely used in professional as well as popular literature on child development and child rearing, it is a difficult one to define. In the literature on infant development, attachment refers to an underlying variable inferred from infants' reactions to strangers and to separations and reunions with primary caretakers (Cohen, 1974). Rutter (1979) indicates that attachment is a construct involving several features, and should be distinguished from bonding to adults. The available definitions focus almost exclusively on the attachment of the child to the

adults. What is required for this discussion is a way of defining the attachment of the adults to their children. Ramey and Farran offer a broad definition of adult-child attachment using the term functional maternal attachment to mean "simply those caregiving functions that must be performed for infants to sustain a normal development" (Ramey and Farran, 1978, p. 2). The set of functions include "at a minimum a refrain from physical and verbal abuse, the provision of information and affection, and direct personal involvement with the infant."

Research on the reciprocity and rhythmicity which characterize normal mother-infant relationships brings us closer to a way of defining attachment so that the adults' attachment to the child is included. Here I am defining attachment as the capacity to be aroused to a wide range of behaviors and intense feelings by the status and behavior of the other. If the attachment is a mutual one, then one would expect the behavior and feelings of either member of the pair to activate strong feelings and/or reactions in the other. This definition is intended to include such feelings as anxiety, alarm, fear, anger, and rage, as well as the proverbial pride and joy and other tender loving and caring emotions, and the behaviors that express them. Common usage of the term attachment tends to refer primarily to the nurturant side of the spectrum of feelings and behaviors of adults, and to overlook the point that intense rage or terror in the face of impending danger to the child are also manifestations of what we call attachment. The definition proposed here implies that the opposite of attachment is not rejection or anger, but indifference.

"Optimum attachment" is intended to reflect the notion that while development could be jeopardized by mother-child attachment that is too weak (minimal), it could also be undermined by excessive attachment, commonly called "smother love."

The optimum attachment recommended here as an ideal feature of mother-child relationships is distinguished the optimum detachment from which should and mark teacher-child relationships. The latter is often referred to as "detached concern" (Maslach and Pines, 1977). The term detachment is used not only in order to characterize the distinctions in the functions of the two role-takers, but to suggest also that it is appropriate for professionals to make self-conscious or deliberate efforts to distance themselves (optimally) from their clients. As Maslach and Pines (1977) have suggested, people who work intensively and intimately with people for extended periods of time inevitably suffer stresses associated with strong emotional arousal. As they point out, one of the ways of coping with such potential stress is to adopt techniques of detachment, which vary in their effectiveness as well as in their relationship to the conduct of work: "By treating one's clients or patients in a more objective detached way, it becomes easier to perform the

necessary interviews, tests, or operations without suffering from strong psychological discomfort" (Maslach and Pines, 1977, p. 100). The authors go on to suggest that "detached concern" is a term which conveys "the difficult (and almost paradoxical) position of having to distance oneself from people in order to cure them" (Maslach and Pines, 1977, p. 100).

Teachers who are unable to detach themselves optimally from their pupils and become too close to them are likely to suffer emotional "burn-out" which is typically accompanied by loss of capacity to feel anything at all for the clients. Certainly those who are extremely detached at the other extreme, for whatever reason, are unlikely to be effective in their work with children because such extreme detachment is also accompanied by low responsiveness to client needs and demands.

One of the advantages mothers have over teachers in dealing with the stresses of attachment, as well as intense affect, is the tacit knowledge that their child's psychological and physical dependency upon them will slowly but surely be outgrown. Teachers of day care, preschool and kindergarten children on the other hand, must continually cope with dependent children, year in and year out. They must protect themselves from potential "burn-out" by developing an optimal level of detached concern--optimal in terms of their own emotional stability and effective functioning.

It should be noted also that teachers who are suspected of cultivating close attachments to their pupils in order to "meet their own personal needs," as the saying goes, are subject to substantial criticism or derision from co-workers and other professionals. Occasionally such teachers come to perceive themselves as protecting children from their own parents, and occasionally the child's responsiveness to such teacher closeness gives rise to parental jealousy. As Anna Freud pointed out long ago, a teacher "is neither mother nor therapist." A teacher with "objective attitudes can respond warmly enough to satisfy children without getting herself involved to a dangerous extent..." (Freud, 1952, p. 232). She adds that a teacher must not think of herself as a "mother-substitute." If as teachers, "we play the part of a mother, we get from the child the reactions which are appropriate for the mother-child relationship" (p. 231). All of this could result in "rivalry with mothers" and other undesirable consequences, making teacher-mother mutual support and complementarity difficult to develop.

Optimum detachment is also desirable for teachers because it can free them to make realistic evaluations of their pupils' development and learning, which is a major component of their work. Mothers, on the other hand, may not have to make realistic or so-called "objective" evaluations of their children's growth very often, although their lack of realism is a frequent source of frustration to teachers! In the long run, a mother's optimism about her child's progress, even if it seems excessive, is probably

in the child's best interest. Such optimism in and of itself may contribute to the child's growth and development. Maternal pessimism, on the other hand, may be more damaging than any teacher's realism. Many children seem to think that mother, being omniscient and knowing the child more fully and completely than the teacher, is in possession of the "real" truth, and that when there is a discrepancy between the mother's and the teacher's evaluation, the former is more accurate. Experience suggests that individuals caught between their mother's pessimism concerning their potential for achievement, and a teacher's optimism, devote considerable energy to the problem of how to keep "the real truth" from the teacher--having no choice but to accept mother's view as the "true" one. Such discrepancies may account for some cases of lifelong doubts about one's true abilities.

Differences in the assessments of the two role-takers may be related to the differences in the base-lines to which the child in question is being compared. They may also be due to dramatic differences in the child's behavior in the home and at school. It is not uncommon to hear both mothers and teachers comment on how strikingly different the child seems in the "other" setting. Frequently, a mother will report that the teacher's description of her child was difficult to reconcile with her own experiences with the child. Studies of this phenomenon and the ways children cope with discrepant evaluations have not been found.

Another consideration leading to the recommendation of optimum detachment for teachers is the importance of minimizing the likelihood of incidents we might call "invasions of privacy" or other forms of encroachment upon aspects of children's socialization which are the legitimate domain of the family. Similarly, optimum detachment is recommended in order to help teachers with the ever-present temptation to engage in favoritism. Since it is unlikely that one can be strongly attached to more than one or two pupils, the risk of favoritism increases with increasing closeness to any one pupil. The detachment approach should help to reduce those dangers.

Many early childhood workers reject the value of optimum detachment because of their deep concern for children's need to feel closeness and attachment to adults. It is not clear how the proposed detachment would affect such "needy" children. But it is useful to keep in mind that while the relationships between adults and children in day care, preschool, and primary classes are reciprocal, they are not necessarily symmetrical. In particular, it may be possible for young children to feel very attached to their teachers, even to worship and adore them, without the teachers' responding at the same level of intensity. Such "unrequited love" during the early years may help the child to gratify needs for cathexis without placing severe emotional burdens on teachers. Research on such asymmetrical attachment might help to clarify the potential effects on such children of the detachment of their teachers.

Rationality

It is hypothesized here that effective mothering is associated at least in part, with optimum irrationality, and that the two extremes may both be damaging to the growing child. On the one hand, extreme rationality in a mother might be perceived by the child as cool, calculating unresponsiveness that could lead to a variety of emotional disturbances. Extreme irrationality, on the other hand, may present the growing child with a range of problems stemming from insufficient predictability of the interpersonal environment.

By using the term optimum irrationality I do not intend to propose chaotic, scatterbrained mindlessness! Rather, the emphasis is upon the depth and strength of what we sometimes call "ego-involvement"--similar in nature to attachment as defined above.

The irrationality suggested here is, in a sense, a matter of the mind, or the rational aspects of functioning, employed "in the service of the heart," so to speak. On the other hand much literature is prepared for and presented to teachers to remind them to bring their hearts to bear upon their professional minds.

The element of "ego-involvement" is also illustrated by the notion that if a mother perceives herself as a failure at mothering she is likely to experience painful guilt, strong feelings of inadequacy and deep regret, perhaps for a lifetime. If, on the other hand, a teacher perceives herself to have failed at teaching she/he can leave the occupation in a fairly orderly fashion (e.g., at the end of an academic year), and residual emotions like guilt, feelings of failure, regret and defeat are likely to subside and disappear with a few months.

Newson and Newson point out that parents can show their flexibility because their relationships with the children are both permanent and intimate, and that although it is often suggested that parents "ought to strive after consistency at all times: fortunately most are human enough to fail in this unusual aim" (1976, p. 402).

A different aspect of this dimension is captured in the expression, "no one in her right mind would be a mother!" As Bronfenbrenner has put it, "in order to develop, a child needs the enduring, irrational involvement of one or more adults," by which he means, "Somebody has to be crazy about that kid!" (Bronfenbrenner, 1978, pp. 773-774). However, for modern, well educated mothers this may appear to be something of an over-statement.

A rational analysis of the pros and cons of motherhood would be unlikely to lead to a decision to undertake it. Indeed, it is difficult to find "reasons" for having children today. Offspring are not "useful" as a hedge against economic dependency in old age. Rather than being considered potential members of the family

labor force and contributors to the family income, they are expected to become substantial drains on the family finances. Thus, even more than their forebears, modern parents have children just because they "have to,"--irrationally, so to speak. Truly rational analyses of parenthood, at this time, would probably provide more counterindicators than not!

Teachers on the other hand should be optimally rational, in that they should bring to bear upon their work careful reasoning concerning what is to be done or not done. Teaching calls for rational analysis of how to proceed in the education of young children on the basis of accumulated knowledge of how children develop and learn, and of what is appropriate pedagogy for children of a given age range and experiential background. Presumably the value of teacher training is precisely that it equips the future teacher with information and knowledge from the relevant "supply" disciplines and from pedagogy, all of which become available for proceeding rationally in the work of teaching. It seems reasonable to assume that teachers' possession of relevant knowledge would serve to increase their confidence in their own behavior and in general role competence. However, increased knowledge for mothers may have the opposite effect, and may serve to undermine what is often rather fragile confidence when facing "experts" who may appear comparatively cool and confident in their own advice and procedures.

Spontaneity

Along very similar lines, parents should strive to be optimally spontaneous in dealing with their children. Many programs of parent education run the risk of encouraging parents to become excessively cerebral and self-conscious in responding to their children. Extreme pressure to modify their behavior may lead parents to a condition called "analysis paralysis," or inability to act with confidence, which could be damaging to the mother-child relationship. The resolve to respond to one's child according to certain steps and procedures arrived at cerebrally, intellectually, as it were, may work well on the first or even second occasion. But very often, even the strongest resolutions break down under the weight of what is (and should be) an emotionally-loaded relationship. Such "break-downs" are related to the fact that the child's behavior/status really matters to the parent, which comes with "attachment" as defined above. The cool, calculating, ever reasoning or reasonable parent might be perceived by the child as indifferent.

Another aspect of spontaneity is that it is precisely what gives a mother's day-to-day behavior at home the variation and contrast which the growing child can use as a basis for hypothesis formulation and testing in the quest to make sense of experience. Indeed, it may well be that what gives play its reputed high value in children's learning derives from the spontaneous, casual and often random variations produced in many types of play (Newson

and Newson, 1979). These variations provide information which the child operates on and transforms into meaningful contents of the mind. The opportunity to observe such spontaneous variations, and to obtain parental help in making logical inferences from them, may be the very thing the slogans such as "mother is the best teacher" refer to. As the Newsons state:

...it must surely be within the circle of the family that the child must learn to adjust to and cope with living among other people in all their inconsistency and moodiness... Moodiness, understanding, and failure are all part of the ordinary human condition, and parents' role is to present and interpret these things to the child within a permanent loving relationship which offers plenty of time for mistakes to be made and to be forgiven on both sides (Newson and Newson, 1976, p. 402).

By contrast, instruction can be defined as non-random prespecified sets of stimuli or information intended to cause specific constructs and skills to be acquired. This contrast between play and instruction may also help to account for some of the dissension in the ranks concerning appropriate programming for infant day care. On the one hand, there is pressure to rise above the custodial functions of day care and to provide "developmental" programs. On the other hand, formal lessons, instruction or "structured" activities are thought to be inappropriate for the young. If the staff must await spontaneous "teachable moments," they may feel as though they are not earning their keep, not really "working," and role ambiguity may intensify.

While mothers should be optimally spontaneous with their children, teachers should strive to be optimally intentional about their work. Their activities should be largely predetermined, premeditated in terms of some aims, goals, and broad objectives which are more or less explicit and are responsive to parents (the primary clients) as well as to pupils. With training and experience teachers' intentional behavior takes on a spontaneous quality as well.

Perhaps it is this very degree of intentionality which most clearly distinguishes mothering from teaching, and child-rearing from education. That is not to say that parents have no intentions! It is likely, however, that parental intentions are less explicit to parents themselves as well as to others, and all less formal, more global and more personalized in that they are held for their own individual offspring. Research on the degree and specificity of intentions among the two sets of role-takers might help to sharpen understanding of these role distinctions.

Early childhood educators often speak appreciatively of the great amounts children learn from the hidden curriculum, from incidental learning or from unintended or unplanned events.

However, by definition, such unintended learning cannot be intended... one cannot intend something to happen unintentionally! Presumably the purpose of training in pedagogy is to bring the consequences of one's pedagogical methods into closer and closer agreement with the intentions underlying one's pedagogy. Similarly, the virtue of instruction would seem to lie in the deliberate minimization of spontaneous or random variations in activities and responses, maximizing the likelihood that specific stimuli will be presented to the learner and intended or predicted learning outcomes will most likely be assured.

Spontaneity of the mother is important also in that it may contribute to the widest possible variations in behavior, which in turn give rise to the widest possible range of information coming potentially available to the child. The availability of a wide range of information increases the probability that children will be able to locate information that matches adequately or optimally what they are ready to operate upon and/or to assimilate. Furthermore, if the child's location of appropriate information is followed by mother's focusing on the selected events or information, then the child's environment becomes a highly informative and responsive one. In studies of mother-infant interaction it has been suggested that adults exaggerate their facial and vocal expressions in order to provide "behavioral contrasts" in response to infants' "limited information processing capacities" (Tronick, et al., 1980, p. 20). Thus the spontaneous variations in behavior ideally serve to increase the likelihood that matches between the child's readiness to process information and the adult's provision of it will be maximized.

As suggested above, instruction and pedagogy are concerned with narrowing the variations presented to the child so that specific information and child operations upon it can be maximized. However, if the narrow range of information presented by the pedagogue misses the mark for a particular child the child's alternatives are fewer than they might be at home and the result may be a sense of failure or inadequacy, which in turn may have deleterious effects upon the child's education.

Questions concerning what sets of variations, stimuli or information should be made available to young children in preschool classes have occupied curriculum developers for many years and definitive answers have not yet been formulated.

Partiality

Along lines very similar to those discussed above, mother-child relationships are not only charged with highly intense emotions, but "children in the family are treated as special persons..." and in school they are "necessarily treated as members of categories" (Lightfoot, 1978, p. 22). It is thus in the nature of things that parents are partial towards their own children, biased in their favor, champions of their children's needs and exaggerators of

their virtues, gifts, and assets. This so-called particularism stands in sharp contrast to the universalism expected of teachers. Thus it is appropriate for parents to ask teachers to make special allowances and provisions for their own children, and that is precisely what a teacher often cannot do, since the teacher must treat the children impartially. Teacher impartiality means that whatever skills, knowledge, insights, techniques, etc., the teacher has at his or her disposal, they are made equally available to every child as needed, whether the child is liked or not. Indeed, it is the very capacity to make all of one's pedagogical know-how available to the child one does not especially like which marks the teacher as a genuine professional.

Scope of Responsibility

The great emphasis placed by early childhood educators on the importance of meeting the "individual needs" of their pupils may have obscured yet another distinction between the roles of mothering and teaching, namely, that mothers are typically concerned about the welfare of one rather than all of the teacher's pupils. Consequently, a mother may make demands on the teacher which might place the welfare of the whole group of pupils at risk. Parents have a right to protect their own child's cultural/ethnic uniqueness, and to ask of the teacher that special consideration as appropriate be made for their child. But mothers are often unaware of the pressures from other mothers, as well as of institutional sources, that the teacher is attempting to respond to. The teacher is responsible for the life of the group as a unit that is more than the sum of the lives of the individual members. The teacher has to balance the importance of responding to unique individual "needs" against the responsibility to establish and maintain the ethos of the group through which the norms of behavior, expected levels of achievement, and even many feelings are learned.

Implications for Teachers of Young Children

The analyses presented seem to suggest a number of points which may help teachers in their encounters with mothers as well as in coping with the day-to-day problems of working with young children.

It seems obvious, even without detailed analyses of the two roles, that the special contributions of each role-taker to the ultimate socialization of the young child should be understood, accepted, and respected by each of them. Parent educators, as well as those who write in the popular press for parents, might help by acknowledging the complementarity of these functions, rather than engaging in trying to fix blame on one or the other for whatever social disaster is capturing popular attention at a given moment. Expressions like "Parents are the child's best teacher" seem to suggest that teachers are, if not the worst, then certainly

a distant second best. The comparison itself is inappropriate. What should be emphasized are the functions and characteristics of each role and how the efforts of each role taker might be supported by the other.

Another implication of the analyses is that teachers should take time periodically to consider whether they have achieved an optimal level of involvement or detachment in their relationships with children. The risk of teacher "burn-out" is a real one, especially when the work is with children whose families are under stress. Teachers who work together as members of a teaching team might also help each other by developing a system for giving each other relief on those moments when the emotional load feels too heavy to cope with.

Teachers may also be helped by focusing on those aspects of the child's functioning they actually do control. A teacher cannot change the family into which a child is born or with whom he is living. Nor can the teacher generally change very much of the mother's behavior. But a teacher can take responsibility for the time a child is actually directly in his or her care, and focus on making that time as supportive, enriching, and educative as possible. The latter is a sufficiently big task by itself, without adding to it the need to make up for the child's alleged missing mothering!

Teachers may also find it helpful in their relations with mothers to acknowledge and accept the mother's advocacy for and partiality toward her own child as natural components of motherhood. Similarly, as mothers approach teachers to request special dispensations for their own children, teachers' acknowledgement of the "naturalness" of such demands may help them to respond more patiently and less defensively than they seem typically to do. Teachers might be mindful on such occasions that while they may practice impartiality within their own classroom, they champion their own classes when representing them as a group in comparison with other teachers' classes! On such occasions teachers also ask for special dispensations and also describe their own classes as having special or unique needs, gifts, and strengths...much the way mothers do for their individual children. Recognition of this phenomenon may help teachers respond to parents with greater respect and understanding.

Conclusion

Much of the discussion presented above is speculative, based on informal observations and reports of the experiences of teachers, parents, and parent educators. Research that would verify the accuracy of these speculations would be helpful. Of all of the potential research efforts on matters referred to in this discussion, those should have high priority which would advance our understanding of the stresses and coping skills of teachers and day care workers. Present social and economic developments suggest that more and

more children and their parents will come to depend upon professional child care workers and preschool teachers, and more parents will stand to benefit from well-designed parent education programs. Much is yet to be learned about how such professional activities should be conducted, and what kinds of working conditions are desirable. Certainly mutual support of the persons involved should help each to cope more effectively with the stresses encountered when living and working with young children every day.

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PARENTS AND THE EARLY YEARS

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It is important for me to tell you where I'm coming from because the field is full of confusion, full of conflicting ideas, full of passion, and in some instances loaded with guilt. My interest began in the early Fifties. I interacted with people who liked themselves. They were well-developed adults who coped with life better than some other people. They were nicer people, less inclined to be nasty, and I enjoyed life more when I was with these people--competent grown-ups. Thus, my conviction that it is very important for everyone to maximize the number of such people. I became interested in the human potential movement, rather than what you do for a child that is in big trouble.

I started out as a mechanical engineer, served in the army and saw people who were not interested in the world. That had a profound effect on me. Since I had no big pressures on me when I left the service, I decided to re-enroll in a university, become well educated, and devote myself to improving the human potential. I started with philosophy. After a couple of years, I switched to psychology. I wanted to know "Where do well developed adults come from?"

Maslow was inspirational. I went to Brandeis and also met Piaget. By 1965 the beginning of Head Start touched off preschool education. Let me remind you that the original central purpose of Head Start was to prevent educational failure. It has added lots of other purposes in the last four or five years--that is, better early health care, better health, and better social and emotional development--but do not forget that the original rhetoric that sold it was to try to prevent educational failure.

Children who enter the first grade significantly behind their peers are not likely to ever catch up. There are exceptions, but the norm is that they fall further behind. This has been recognized educationally for a long time. Let me tell you a little story about the origin of the Brookline Early Education Project (BEEP). The superintendent of schools in Brookline, Massachusetts, called me one day and said, "I have been reading things like Benjamin Bloom's statement that most of intelligence is already developed by the time the child is eight, and that half of it is developed by four. I know that when I get a child in the first grade who already looks weak I cannot do much for him, even though I have one of the best special educational programs in the country."

As a reasonable man, he is driven to consideration of the topic of prevention. He has no choice. In fact, it is the same reasoning that led to the creation of Head Start. But the Brookline superintendent has no excuses, he has first-rate people, he has an excess of money, and he still cannot do the job. He said, "I want to recommend that all kids get into our schools at age four. What do you think of that as a good way to deal with this problem?" I said, "That's not a particularly sensible approach." He said, "What do you mean? People have been telling me for years that public kindergarten is great." I said, "Look, don't spend all your money on an expensive kindergarten program. Half or more of your children are not going to get much out of it educationally, in my opinion. Take a look at what is going on in the entire first six years, not just in the fifth year. Try to get at the origin of educational deficits, try to prevent them, and try to help earlier in the game." And so we built the Brookline program.

Most recently I'm into something that some of you might be interested in. I am helping the Missouri State Department of Education set up four projects for first-time parents. Again, like Brookline but supposedly a little more mature this time. Thinking of parents as teachers as well as whatever else they are, and thinking of what they need to do a good educational job, and to make it available not just to poor parents but to everybody. Exception being, cases where there are very serious problems in the home. Then, of course, there will be a referral capacity. The project is called the New Parents as Teachers Project. So, career wise, that's where I'm coming from today, and that's different from the other speakers you will be listening to. I maintain that in an area as important and as complicated as this one anyone who is listening ought to find out where the speaker is coming from.

I want to revisit why I'm so committed to paying attention to the first few years. From 1953-1957 it was pounded into my head that if I were interested in well-developed adults, early experiences had to be studied and the earlier the better.

From 1965-70 we saw Head Start; Follow Through programs aimed at the elementary grades; parent child centers aimed at 0-3; Home Start aimed at the family 3-5 age range; and the child and family resource programs with families from the time of conception to eighth birthday. This constitutes the package of federally funded programs. What they taught us is still a matter of controversy. My view does not agree with what you heard last night from Dr. Lazar. He was commissioned by the federal government, actually, to demonstrate that there were good lasting effects of the preschool programs. It was in the interest of the sponsoring agency to show that that was the case. The Head Start budget was under attack. I think the Head Start program has had good effects. I don't think it has had good effects everywhere. A lot of Head Start programs make no measurable difference directly

in the educational careers of children and could do much more. I notice a lot of things that were done. We can't be too much interested in the political system. We have to call the shots as accurately as we can. During the period between 1965-70 we were getting mostly disappointing returns. Putting children into classrooms when they are three and four years of age was something we were not prepared to do. Early results indicated that most of the centers were not having any impact at all on the educational progress. That a handful of very, very well-done ones were apparently having short term effects and things were looking good, until the follow-up studies started to show that by the third grade there was a washout. This discouraged a lot of people. It didn't stop the Head Start program, basically because of the political reality, not because of education. They were seen as a safety role in the late Sixties and that is why they kept going.

What we learned in the early Seventies from these programs was that we had a washout program by and large. It remained a tough job to turn around a slowly developing child after the third birthday. That's my lesson from these educational programs.

Weikart's work constitutes a very powerful piece of evidence that says center-based programs are valuable or can be valuable. His interest is on the quality of the programs. He thinks that very few programs operate at the level he would like for them to operate.

I want to focus on the things that we have learned. I like to talk about abilities that emerge in the first years, influence on them, and the degree of riskiness.

We have known for years that language growth starts and, in a large way, develops to a solid working capacity before the third birthday. Two- and three-month old children do not process the meaning of words at all. At six, seven, and eight months, they begin to understand the meanings of a few selected words; not surprisingly, words such as their own name, mommy, daddy, kiss, and bottle. That initial vocabulary is reasonably well understood. By the time they are three years of age, most children have the capacity to understand most of the language they will use in ordinary conversation for the rest of their lives. Language is at the heart of educational capacity. It has its own primary value, and has an instrumental value of direct relevance to all intellectual learnings. Subtly, but just as importantly, it underlies healthy social growth. In the first couple of years of life, development of sociability depends on some capacities in the language area (White, 1969; White & Held, 1966).

What could be more important to whether a child learns anything--not just about academic subjects, but about the world at large, about what makes people tick, about how to become a good listener--than simple curiosity? It is the birthright of every child, with a few exceptions; the badly damaged children, for

example, may have less of it. But even if a child comes from a miserable home and is beaten regularly, it is very difficult to stamp out strong, basic, simple, pure curiosity in the first eight or nine months of life. It is, unfortunately, not that difficult to stamp it out in the next year or two or, if not stamp it out, suppress it dramatically, or force it into peculiar aberrant patterns. When a two-year-old boy looks at a new toy and, unlike other two-year-olds, sizes it up only to see how he can use it to badger his mother, this is not sheer, unqualified curiosity.

In the past five or six years we have begun to pay a little more serious attention to the value of social goals for our educational system, but we are still limping along. For years we have had soft-hearted early education people saying a child is more than a brain, but very few people have listened to these educators because most of them do not have doctorates and most of them are not rhetoricians. I believe that the social skills that develop in the preschool years are every bit as important, every bit as instrumental, to the intellectual success of a student, for example, as specific intellectual skills. In addition, I believe many people in this country would be happier if the children we produced were not only bright but were people with whom they liked to live.

We are relatively clear now on the details of social development. We know that human infants will not survive without some sort of strong, protective attachment to an older, more mature, more capable human. Built into the creature is a collection of attributes, tools actually, that help in the cementing of a relationship to somebody. For instance, the early social smile of the three-month-old child is not reserved for any particular person. It looks as though the species had a first-stage guarantee of attractiveness. The three- and four-month-old child is an attractive, nice-to-live-with person. The child starts to giggle and becomes ticklish for the time, and is given to euphoria. Photographers like this euphoria a great deal, but I think there is a more serious species-survival virtue to this attractiveness.

Between 8 months and 24 months one of the most gorgeous experiences you will ever see takes place: Children establish a relationship, usually with the mother because most children are still being brought up by their mothers. This is an incredibly complicated experience, making most social contacts pale in comparison to it. One of the few really overpowering interests of the child at this age is that other key figure. Children learn thousands of things about what they can and cannot do in interaction with the primary caretaker, about how to read the primary caretaker's different mood states, and many other things.

We have seen children at age two who are marvelous people

to live with. They are free and easy, comfortable with their parents, and have bypassed the negativism of the second year reasonably well. They can play alone well. They are just a delight. On the other hand, how many times have you heard a mother of a two-year-old say he or she does not play well alone? This situation can be very tough, especially if there is a younger child crawling around in the home. Children are by age two crystallized into their basic social patterns, and we see those social patterns applied to all social encounters in the next year or two--to other children who come into the home, to older siblings, and to other adults. A human personality is formed during those first two years, and there is no job, I believe, more important than helping to form that personality.

The role of the family in the education of a young child, particularly during the first years of life, should be given the highest priority in forming our national educational policy, allocating our national resources, and last, but far from least, supporting the solidity of our families.

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CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

Fourth Annual Early Childhood Education Conference

(Appeared in School, the official publication of the Maryland State Department of Education)

A few cherished beliefs were challenged, and there were new reasons to wonder what the world is coming to. But, by the end of the fourth annual Early Childhood Education conference, there was also new strength to the conviction that the world would be a better place for everyone if only one truth about education would sink into the public consciousness: Early is better--why wait?

The concept was buttressed repeatedly as five big names in child development and early childhood education discussed their research and experiences during the two days of the conference. At a panel discussion that brought the five together at the closing session, this exchange took place:

Lazar: "Early is better but later is not too late."

White: "But why do we continue to wait?"

Lazar: "Because we don't value children very highly in this country."

Burton White, the Harvard child psychologist who began his academic career studying mechanical engineering and philosophy, continued to preach the theme that reaching children very early--even from the moment of birth itself--is the only way to ensure healthy social and intellectual development.

Dr. White is internationally known for his research that shows that basic character traits are developed by the age of two. Chances of changing the complex qualities of the individual personality, he believes, decrease with each year beyond age two.

"What are the most important factors that contribute to a child's later success in school?" the panel of experts was asked. White did not hesitate: "First, feeling personally secure--liking yourself and getting along with others. School is a social endeavor. Second, curiosity."

In the small group session White said that curiosity, which flourishes from seven months on, can be warped by parents who cannot say "no" or stunted by an excessively restrictive environment. Much the same is true, he said, of the child's developing sense of personal security.

"I despair at being able to understand all the factors that contribute to later success so I concentrate on the core personality qualities--we have a crack at changing them," White told his attentive audience.

Irving Lazar, of Cornell University, did not disagree with the "early is better" thesis. Based on his own examinations of the effects of preschool programs that begin at age three or four, however, he has more hope for stimulating intellectual and social development after the core personality qualities have formed.

In 1978 he released a report of the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, a project of the Education Commission of the States that is examining the lasting effects of 11 preschool programs that operated from the early 1960s through the 1970s. Program philosophies varied considerably, though each had distinct goals for improving the chances of poor, mostly black, children to succeed in school.

Despite their many differences, the programs were uniform in improving achievement scores (especially in math), raising IQ scores at least three years after program participation, reducing special ed placement, and increasing the children's confidence and pride in accomplishment.

"Wide program differences make no differences in program effectiveness," Lazar told the small group session. "Too often," he said, "educators look for the perfect curriculum, the perfect school that will work for all children." He called this the "assembly-line approach" based on the "industrial model--producing efficiently so many products."

"It doesn't work but we keep trying," he proclaimed, with a certain dry exasperation. "The best we can say now is that, if you over-structure a program, it's probably not good for kids. And if you don't have any structure, that's probably not going to teach anybody."

In answer to the question about factors contributing to later school success, Dr. Lazar said the most important were the learning environment (including the value society places on learning) and clear learning objectives.

Lazar shot another laser beam at the audience in discussing the value of staff training on preschool programs.

"I don't think you have to have a college education to be an effective teacher of four year olds," he said. Only supervisors and trainers of teachers need a college education. For teachers, he said, the crucial training is of the inservice variety.

He compared the United States unfavorably with Singapore in terms of learning environment and teacher training. He noted that in Singapore, where the illiteracy rate is .3 percent, there is much less emphasis on training teachers in specific teaching techniques and subject matter than in this country, where the illiteracy rate is about 13 percent. Teacher training institutions in Singapore, he continued, place major emphasis on the ability of teachers to convey the joy of learning.

In response to a question about the future of early childhood education, the panel of experts saw problems ahead. Jenni Klein, chief of educational services in the Federal Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, saw two trends developing: more early schooling for middle class kids and, because of federal budget cuts, less for poor kids. No one on the panel predicted any "trickle down" educational benefits for poor children.

"The Reagan fear is with us," Evangeline Ward, of Temple University told one small group session. "If you really care about children you are going to have to do more cooperating and collaborating and at quite a different level."

Collaboration, or articulation, with elementary grades, with private day care programs, and cooperation with parents and other staff requires, Dr. Ward said, "that we be explicit about our programs so others will know how they might cooperate with us."

Some of the 250 conferees experienced "teacher shock" when Lazar turned futurist and laid out on the table of the crowded motel meeting room a scenario of change.

"In 20 years," he predicted unequivocally, "the school as an institution will disappear as we know it." He built that statement on some familiar projections given new strength as bearers of a new order.

First, he said, women will continue to enter the labor market in ever greater numbers--"Most educated women expect to have a career today." The result will be major changes in the whole range of educational services, including a shortage of decent day care programs.

But, second, before the first change squeezes the system into new shapes, the effects of new technology will be felt in dramatic ways, Lazar said.

"Microprocessors are becoming readily available and in a few years they will be household appliances," he predicted. "Once that happens middle class children will arrive at school already reading, writing and doing arithmetic.

"The result," he suggested, "will be to place lower class

children at a greater disadvantage and to place new pressures on teachers in the primary grades.

"Like it or not, they have programmed computers to teach reading better than it can be taught in a classroom because of individual instruction keyed to the child's own level of ability and rate of learning and because it gives immediate feedback," he asserted. He suggested that, for teaching the basic skills, there is no contest between one child and one computer, on the one hand, and one teacher and 40 children, on the other.

With computers taking care of the basic skills ("quantitative learning"), Lazar continued, the role of the school (or perhaps a new institution operated by Parks and Recreation) will be in the areas of socialization and esthetics ("qualitative learning"). Such learning includes, among other things, he said, the meaning of history, the understanding of facts, the application of skills, and the appreciation of beauty.

But if there were predictions of challenging times ahead for teachers of young children, there was also advice on coping. Lilian Katz, director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education, urged teachers to be resilient, "to use your intellect to school your feelings--when you can no longer do that you are in danger of burning out."

The conference was sponsored by the Early Childhood Education Branch of the State Department of Education.

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